352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
442 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cook-
ing utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunt-
622 ing and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes
sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not
interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful
Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

589 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father
turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the
young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible,
consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They
will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price
for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from
what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted
with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[611] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows,
i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to
kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting
feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take
place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who
will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but
also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these.
It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to
undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique
will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes)
with the whip. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but
bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his
teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the
test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[678] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will
be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato
(corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[615] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

as that of the plantain. Almost every family owns its cane mill and distillery, which are supplied by the omnipresent cane fields.

With all this emphasis on agriculture, the *Cayapa* are, nevertheless, a jungle people, skilled hunters of many species of rodents, deer, felines, peccaries, armadillos, and birds. Life at the riverside encourages and is encouraged by dependence on fish, crustaceans, shellfish, and crocodile eggs. Under aboriginal conditions the *Cayapa* were probably never hungry.

Hogs and chickens are now kept everywhere. Dogs are not conspicuously reported.

Food is mostly boiled, though frequently meat will be broiled or baked. Surpluses are dried and smoked.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Though maps traditionally locate *Cayapa* "villages," these are nothing but agglomerations of three or four houses and a church. The houses stand empty most of the year and are used only at holidays when the priests visit the *Cayapa*.

The actual habitations of the people are spread through the jungle, always at riversides (pl. 57, *top*) and usually isolated from one another by fields or even uncleared stretches. The houses stand on high poles 6 to 12 feet off the ground and are reached by removable ladders. The roof is thatched with palm leaves (pl. 57, *center*), and the rectangular house is virtually unenclosed. Sometimes the house floor is separated into two parts, one for cooking, the other for sleeping and eating. One chief had a large house (pl. 57, *bottom*) which could seat 40 people and which had more than two "rooms." The furniture is scanty: hammocks are used for sitting and sleeping, and wooden seats are sometimes found. An attempt by Barrett to correlate these seats with the famous stone seats of Manabi (Handbook, vol. 2, p. 780) seems very inconclusive.

In addition to permanent houses, small temporary ranchos are sometimes built when people are far from home. The houses in the "village" are standard structures, but the church follows Spanish ways: it rests on the ground and has walls.

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

Although *Cayapa* tradition records a period when the people wore blankets and even ponchos, today their clothes are scanty (pl. 59, *bottom*). The men wear a tight, small, white garment, made like bathing trunks, and a thin gaudy shirt of calico, with short and very tight sleeves. On festive occasions vests of European cut and manufacture are frequently donned over the shirt, and so are felt fedoras.

Women wear a long skirt of native cloth, girded with a narrow fringed belt. As in the Highlands, several skirts of different weights are sometimes worn. Head, shoulders, and chest are usually left bare.

2: Murra E-4 (no date) 1943 SD6 Cayapa SD6

Death.—Death is not considered to be a natural phenomenon but is attributed to the presence of malevolent spirits in the body. A dead man's soul hovers around his house, which is usually abandoned, though it may be dismantled and sold. The corpse is buried in a coffin in a Catholic-style cemetery near the church. The dead man's possessions are usually given away, but it is not known who inherits his fields and clearings.

AESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—The great range of designs used by the *Cayapa* in their face and body painting has already been mentioned. There is a similar variety in the geometric figures used to ornament their canoes. There are no design names, nor is there any apparent significance in their variation. Animals are sometimes painted on canoes destined for the market, but only geometric designs satisfy the native consumer.

Textile decoration, particularly on women's skirts, differs from canoe and body painting in its emphasis on realistic motifs. Men, mammals, reptiles, birds, fishes, and parts thereof are frequently woven into the cloth. Interestingly enough, in both design and execution this ornamentation resembles very closely the decoration used by Highland Indians on their belts (*fajas*).

Calabash dishes frequently have an incised design below the rim.

Canoe paddles and wooden seats are sometimes ornamented with carved images, and children usually play with carved wooden dolls.

Music and dancing.—Holidays, weddings, and other feasts are accompanied by much dancing and drinking. As elsewhere along the coast, the European marimba is widely used, as are panpipes, flutes, drums, and rattles. In recent years the Highland San Juan dance has been gaining in popularity. Also of immediate Highland provenience may be the small European wooden harp with palm-fiber strings.

Toys.—Children's activities are usually imitative of adult pursuits. Complete sets of diminutive artifacts are made for the children. Blowguns are given the boys. Only dolls and tops seem to be specifically children's toys.

Alcoholic beverages.—There is no evidence of the use of narcotics. *Guarapo*, the fermented juice of sugarcane, and rum, its distilled by-product, are both made and liberally drunk by the people at appropriate occasions.

RELIGION

Native *Cayapa* religion has blended with many Roman Catholic practices. Baptism, marriage, and political office must be confirmed by the priest. Masses are said for the souls of the dead, and Easter and Christmas are celebrated whenever the priest happens to visit the community.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

fresh from the rollers, as well as after boiling, in fact at any stage before it begins to ferment, the juice is called pĭ' wapû, literally "water guarapo," in contradistinction to the fermented juice, which is called sa'wapû, meaning "sour guarapo." The ollas referred to are especially made for the purpose, and are the most difficult work of the potter, as their size renders them not only inconvenient to form and handle while drying, but makes them also extremely hard to fire. They are almost invariably coated inside and out with brea (Cayapa, amû'ya), the wax of a small bee, which renders them impervious and prevents waste through seepage. The bases of these large vessels are comparatively small, therefore to prevent them from tipping, each is set upon a ring made of refuse cane. When sugar-cane was first introduced among the Cayapa, rum was not made, but the fermented guarapo was much drunk, and even at the present time considerable quantities are so used. To be sure, it is by no means so intoxicating as rum itself, but after it has fermented for two to three weeks it contains a considerable proportion of alcohol. The fermented guarapo is drunk not only about the home and during the process of distillation, but also to a certain extent at fiestas, to which it is brought in large ollas and consumed in place of rum and by some in preference to it.

The guarapo is finally distilled in order to produce the concentrated alcoholic beverage known by the Spanish name aguardiente and called by the Cayapa i'ckala. The still used in this final process is illustrated in pl. LXIII, from a photograph made while the distillation was in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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SCRAPERS, TORCH, LANCE, AND HOOK

[p. 274 (8)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration. 796 627 684

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had imbibed freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood. 796 627 273

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person
627 does no serious damage while in that state. The rum
•273 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with
jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display
skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and
ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that
the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the
men. Sometimes several women are required to hold
a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a
procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as
on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda
and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the
ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this
case there was a feast for a person who recently had died.
This fact brought out another interesting custom. After
[785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished,
the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and
administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails
to each member of the family who had given the feast,
and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members
of the immediate family and their relatives.

Other wooden articles

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still made by the Cayapa include the /núči wináwa/ 'bark cloth beater,' /naŋkáwa/ 'plantain masher,' and food strainers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1925: 198-201). Diagonal wooden bowls called batea in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of cane foods.

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Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the marimba or /ma^{h}ímba/, a large drum called by the Spanish word bombo, and a small free-standing drum that appears at the bars called cununo. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only seldom among the Cayapa.

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Pottery. This art is scarcely practiced anymore. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five sucres (.50 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large fermenting vats made by the people of the San Miguel section, for the storage of /náipa/, the fermented sugar-cane juice called guarapo in Spanish.

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instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

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In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

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Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas fiesta, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and guarapo, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the fiestera during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred sucres. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called cangu is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Two to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas fiesta, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas fiesta. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several cannes in Somerville. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is one undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayuga will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

that as a personal phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, Churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayuga a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better: if not, the Cayuga know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayuga have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Beckett 1933:160-161). Two that are not mentioned by Beckett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayuga toward the Negro: The first of these is Sweeby: he lives at the headwaters of

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by snakes and also by design. Women frequently die in childbirth; tuberculosis runs rampant, and periodically whooping cough and measles decimate the population. People die from spirit possession, soul loss, witchcraft, illness, and accidents; however, very old people "just die." People are afraid of death although it is maintained that no one dies because of his sins. Punishment takes place after death, and everyone must be purified of his sins by punishment after his demise. It is believed that when the Whites die their souls go to the white clouds while those of the Negroes go to the black clouds. Only the Cayapa may enter heaven.

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When death strikes, all relatives within a few hours' travel are notified. The immediate family clean the body, if necessary, and place it on a mat. Water is boiled and then poured over the area where the body lay last. Two or three men of the neighborhood are asked to prepare a coffin; this coffin which is made of bamboo is said to be the "canoe of the soul" and is called /Ginoppile/. Its construction involves four or five hours' work, and when it is completed, the parent or spouse of the deceased offers

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the coffinmakers a gift of two or three liters of rum which is consumed on the spot. If the deceased is a woman, her husband goes through her belongings and sets aside items that are especially attractive and/or expensive, and these are later auctioned off at the funeral. The money received in this manner is used to pay for special masses for the dead. Finally when all is in readiness, the body is placed in the coffin. The funeral is held at a house that is on the main river to facilitate the final removal of the body to the ceremonial center for burial. The coffin is placed in a canoe which is piloted by a close male relative: father, husband, brother, etcetera. The pilot sets out alone with the corpse for the funeral site.

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One day I received word that the wife of Aurelio Añapa had just died from the bite of a venomous snake. She had been attended by a brujo for a period of four days to no avail. The following morning at about two o'clock, we heard faintly the mourning chant of the Cayapa. Slowly the sound came closer, and far up the river a light was moving steadily. Finally, after what appeared to us to be an interminably long time, Aurelio

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now." "Who will take care of the children now that my wife, their mother, has died?" The wailing lasts for some twenty minutes, and then new mourners replace the old who go off and tend children, sleep, talk, and, above all, drink. As these sounds begin to be heard by the people who are waiting up and down the river, they begin to drift in to the funeral house. The women and girls arrange themselves on one side of the room while the men congregate near the drums and marimba. Some begin to play the musical instruments while the "owner" of the dead offers rum to everyone. The music becomes livelier and conversation becomes animated as this goes on, and all this while the mourning continues by the coffin. Games begin to be played by the men and boys, and this is the only time that organized amusements are practiced by the Cayapa. There are at least nine kinds of games engaged in at funerals although they may not all be pursued at any one occasion. One activity, /pánda lúĭi/ 'plantain money,' however, is always included. A description of this is as follows: Five pieces of plantain are cut into slices which are said to be money /lušĭ/, and one

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the participants begin to hit each other's hand with great force as they pass the domino along the circle. Finally, the sport ends, and the plantain money is handed over to the "owner" of the deceased who accepts it in exchange for some bottles of rum. The /pánda lúlu/ is then placed in the coffin, and it is said that it becomes "transformed into real money in heaven."

Another activity often indulged in is called /úlipayéci kánu/ 'the game of linking arms.' It is as follows: People form a circle by locking hands tightly and then lock arms for a few seconds. This is followed by the participants grasping each other's crossed arms. Following this they line up for a "tug of war" with the man in the middle bearing the brunt of the opposing sides.

In the contest called /čaʔna kánu/ [no gloss], a cloth is twisted and used as a whip. The players form a circle as they face inward. The cloth is placed on the neck of one of the men. As this is done, the recipient of the cloth grabs it and runs after the man who placed it on his neck and hits him with the cloth. The one who was hit rejoins the circle, and the second

'getting yucca.' A group of men and boys seat themselves in a line. Then four men come and choose one of the players who will be the yucca. This yucca is picked up bodily with one man holding each extremity, and he is then offered for "sale." He is "sold" for /pánda líl̃i/.[1] After the purchase the yucca remains beside his buyer for a few minutes after which the "money" is placed in the coffin. After this gesture the "owner" of the dead sets up a round of drinks for the players.

/ayalánu/ 'fishing' is still another entertainment that involves the use of /pánda líl̃i/. One man tosses out a "line" made of a small piece of cloth among a group of seated "fish." Every now and then one bites and is hauled in and "killed" with a piece of wood. The fish is then weighed by being hefted bodily and is then sold for plantain money.

Another pastime is known as /ʷupípi/ 'chicken' and is very rough. A man or boy pretends to be a chicken hawk and attempts to steal a "chicken." The "hens" try to prevent this, and few holds are barred.

There is also a diversion called /atuháse hánu/

[1] [i.e. "plantain money" - Analyst]

considered to be gambling. Nevertheless, everyone enjoys them. Even the mourners come over to watch when they are not wailing at the coffin.

It is important that life and gaiety go on, and, for this reason, people struggle not to fall asleep. If the noise, laughter, and music were to cease, the soul of the deceased "could exact vengeance." Finally, about four o'clock in the morning a silence falls over the assembled mourners and celebrants: it is the time of the /mulóta hámu/, the last farewell. Everyone stands, and one man known to have a good voice sings out in a Spanish-Cayapa mixture: "mamay ya se fué mulota yaya llegue mulota talat^{y}umbi ikéiande." At this, all of the assembled men except for the "owners" of the deceased sing the same phrase in unison. Now the coffin is carried down to the raft for the trip to the ceremonial center. Not everyone goes to the burial; some family members remain behind to take care of the children if there are, and others may be too drunk to make the trip. Three or four people are generally all that go to the cemetery.

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

spirit is said to reside in each piece. Black stone axes are especially potent, as are pieces of crystal that have been purchased in town. Tobacco is part of every curing; the smoke wafts the illness away from the body. A considerable amount of alcohol is used as well. The witch takes a mouthful of /iškala/, 'rum,' and sprays it out of his mouth with a loud "whoosh" at the patient's back; a considerable amount of rum fails to compress as spray, and the witch finishes the curing in an advanced state of inebriation! In general, the manner of effecting a cure is as described by Barrett (Barrett 1925:344-352). However, I participated in one that differed considerably. I was told one day that a curing session was in progress at a point not too distant from my house. When I arrived, the cure had apparently been going on for some time. A middle-aged man lay on a reed mat that had been placed on the ground. Alejandro of Encanto sat off to one side leaning back against two parallel sticks that had been thrust into the ground to serve as a backrest. From time to time he alternately whistled short stretches of staccato sounds, that had a decided "blues" quality.

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and chanted a curious mixture of Spanish and what may have been unintelligible magical Quechua words. The Spanish element predominated, but not as connected discourse. The manner of chanting made comprehension extremely difficult for me, but the sequence may be described as stretches of humming, interspersed with unintelligibility, peaked by the words "negro . . . indio bravo . . . enfermidad . . . brujo . . . ." that is, "Negro . . . wild Indian . ... sickness . . . witch . . . ." From time to time there were straight Spanish incantations: "This man is sick, I know, I know, cure, cure, Negro." The Negro is included in the list of powerful words because it is felt that Negroes often practice black magic against the Indian; similarly, the Indio Bravos were a powerful people whose very stone and pottery artifacts retain their ancient power. The witch is included for obvious reasons, and Spanish is used probably because it connotes power. A man who controls Spanish controls the outside forces to a degree impossible for a monolingual Cayapa.

On occasion, Alejandro would take a mouthful of rum and blow it out in the direction of the patient.

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While this was going on, Gerardo, a minor brujo who is also Alejandro's father, rolled up some hoja blanca leaves in the shape of a cone, and placed it on the head of the patient who, by now, was sitting up. The old man then ran both of his hands up the patient's body toward the head. When he reached the forehead he squeezed tightly, quickly gathered up the conical "dunceCap," and ran off into the jungle where he threw it away. He had brought out some of the malignant spirits through the patient's head and into the hat. As this was going on, the patient kept looking at me out of the corner of his eye; finally he said to Gerardo, while pointing his lips at me, "He's real big;" at this, Gerardo asked if I would like to try removing some of the illness. I agreed with alacrity, and as I placed my hands along the patient's sides and began massaging upwards, he cried out: "/úra, úra/, which means "good, good." Gerardo and I worked together, and used up four cone hats. Throughout all of this activity, Alejandro kept humming and chanting, and taking long pulls at the rum bottle, and occasionally spraying some in our direction.

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At the conclusion of the curing ceremony, the

After assuming office he merely continued his usual drinking behavior which apparently was the culturally normal pattern. A normally intoxicated Cayapa cannot settle disputes adequately nor can he maintain law and order effectively. An important point also is that the sober Cayapa feels absolutely no guilt or shame for his behavior while drunk. His work routine has not been disrupted, his family is not neglected, no one points a scornful finger at him. For the Gabriel, the situation was quite different. The instant he became the /ʔuʔi/ he was expected to change a lifetime of habit formation. Political behavior involving the shift of support from one authority to another entered a phase of psychological warfare. A new authority was to be created and the old one destroyed psychologically. The new authority was to be created in the image of what the people felt an /ʔuʔi/ should be like. The lack of congruence between the people's expectation of authority and their actual perception of authority created a situation of intense ambiguity wherein Gabriel was being culturally defined as an alcoholic. The ambiguous nature of his position,

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the presence of many heavy, culturally-approved drinking, and the constant moralizing and expressions of political disaffection brought Gabriel to the inescapable cycle that began to isolate him as the only apparent alcoholic in a society of heavy drinkers. It may be that as Gabriel began to succumb to addictive alcoholism, the individual pressures exerted politically will begin to mold his personality in a new direction: as the gap between expected and observed authority progressively narrows, political behavior will progressively decrease, and the Cayuga governmental system will approach a measure of stability.

Not only was Gabriel's authority on probation within the Porter Wrestle group but it was completely rejected by the people of the other tribal sections. Gabriel felt that as the senior /ha³L/ he should be in charge of all Cayuga affairs. Barrett reported that during his stay, Gabriel's father was in effective control of all of the Cayuga sections, leaving to the other chiefs only minor matters (Barrett 1960: personal communication).

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Gabriel attempted to assert some measure of

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], so he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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who will be most annoyed and an argument most certainly will follow. If the prospective bridegroom is doubtful, the man talk to him earnestly of the pleasures of married life while the woman, very wisely, says nothing, but sits very still with downcast eyes--"very still and very quiet." Most often she is accepted.

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Many times a man has a definite woman in mind for marriage but is not at all sure that he can get her by means of any of the techniques so far discussed. Then, too, it may be that another person has a particular woman in mind for a certain man, and, similarly, is not too sure that he can bring off the marriage. In either case a commission is formed, consisting of two Indians who are usually related to the man under consideration and two Negroes. The Indian members of the commission are not paid except with a few drinks. The Negroes receive some money and two or three gallons of home-distilled rum which, as Barrett once correctly remarked, "is clear in color and vile in taste."

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The Indians on the commission are first to enter the house of the prospective bride. They present

by Pablo himself. Pablo was furious with rage and beat both his wife and Chapiro. After being thrashed, Chapiro ran away. Pablo's wife left for her father's house to advise him of the event. Her father, Lorenzo Martin is one of the officials or /tá tala/ of the community. As an official, he was empowered to settle disputes and to order. He went to Pablo's house to obtain more details. Pablo demanded punishment for Chapiro. About four days later, Lorenzo brought Chapiro to the house of Pablo's elder brother, and charged him with the crime. Chapiro said nothing in his defense thus tacitly admitting his guilt. Lorenzo ordered one hundred and twenty strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, but Beverico who is Chapiro's father's brother's son [just cousin] claimed that the punishment was too severe, whereupon the sentence was reduced to one hundred lashes to be applied by Lorenzo. Following the punishment, everyone got drunk except Chapiro, who left right after the whipping.

In the Cayapa view, a conflict of interest in the person of Lorenzo, the father of the seduced woman, and Lorenzo, the official, does not exist. The facts

of the case were clear, and a witness was present. It is of interest that Pablo's wife seems to have convinced everyone of her innocence in the affair and that she had been truly hoodwinked. Chapiro's reputation was of course, well known, and guilt was held to be his alone. Even though justice prevailed, Chapiro was disgruntled and left without drinking. This in itself would be sufficient to mark him as a deviant, for Reeuwe's observations are still very much applicable.

> . . . leur seul vice est de rendre un culte trop fréquent à Bacchus, auquel ils font des libations d'ichrala, ou eau-de-vie de canne, qu'ils fabriquent eux-mêmes . . . (Reeuwe 1894:408).

In marked contrast to many Cayapa men, Chapiro has always been more interested in sexual pursuits than in drinking and the married men in the area were beginning to view him as a real threat. In instances like this it is felt that the best way to remove the threat is to marry him off, forcibly, if need be. In the case of Chapiro events came to a head after he had seduced Gabriel's daughter.

The seduction of Gabriel's daughter. Chapiro was

as though they were having the time of their lives. Emmett
ed out and returned very shortly, dragging a set of
stocks that had been stored under the late Mr. W.
Arville's, house. Evidently the woman was going to be
displayed as a horrible example! She kept up a running
argument with the officials and denied the charge. Her
husband backed her up, but to no avail. She was to be
whipped fifty lashes. As the charge was completely un-
expected, the woman had not prepared her ceremonial
skirts and only wore a thin red rayon dress. With the
first blow, she yelped in pain and turned to argue with
the castigator. After a pause, another blow landed
with the same results. After each blow, there were long
intervals, probably out of consideration for the woman's
pain. While the punishment was in progress, the casti-
gator offered the culprit a bottle of rum from which to
drink. However, a woman in the audience kept exhorting
him to apply the lash heavily. In addition, she shook
her fist at the rum drinking culprit, shouting that she
had caught her with her husband in flagrante delicto.
The malefactor's husband made a gesture of annoyance at
the woman and told her to keep quiet. When she continued

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the barangay. The husband walked over to her and pushed her roughly away. The shouts, the shoves, and the punishment continued for about an hour. The woman alternately drank from the rum bottle, rubbed her buttocks for a few seconds, assumed the appropriate position, and received the inevitable blow. Her husband kept urging lighter and fewer blows. Suddenly, the /tio'l/, who had been sprawled in his hammock, drunk and seemingly oblivious to what was going on, leaped to his feet, livid with rage: he berated the contingent for taking so long. It was decided therefore, to reduce the number of lashes. By the time the punishment was completed, the woman was quite drunk and consequently feeling little pain. Unexpectedly, a man shouted from the audience that there was too much leniency and this evil doer should receive the full sentence. An 'uncle' of the woman quickly retorted that she had been punished sufficiently. The two men exchanged angry words and fought briefly. The woman's husband, who by now was quite drunk too, took his wife by the arm, and the two of them began cavorting around the room.

Given the facts as described, one wonders if the

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woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

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The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /imʸi/. Arcilio, however, was 'ashamed' and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.

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CHAPTER VI

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION

The basic personality of the Cayapa is marked by anxiety, suspicion, and lack of confidence. Cooperation is minimal, and social cohesion is maintained through the use of alcohol. Cayapa culture is marked by extremely heavy permissive drinking patterns. The Cayapa drink to get drunk: they drink at weddings and funerals; they drink for joy and sorrow; they drink out of fear when an earthquake appears to threaten the end of the world; and they drink to screw up enough courage to bring litigation before the chief. While they are not at all addicted to alcohol, they are to some extent dependent upon it. The dependency arises out of a deep-rooted basic anxiety that is manifested by a generalized fear of others, an inability to maintain friendships, low male sex drive, female sexual forwardness and latent homosexuality. Following Kardiner (Kardiner et al. 1939; 1945), it will be posited that there is a connection between the primary institution of child rearing, the Basic Personality Structure, and the system of law and government as their derivatives

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the system of law and government as their derivatives.

Dependency on alcohol is generally recognized as a means of reducing anxiety, although specific interpretations may differ as to the nature of the anxiety. My analysis of drinking in Cayapa culture is based on psychoanalytic theory as the data seem to fit best within that framework.

> Addictive alcoholism is classified as an oral perversion. This perversion results from traumas that occurred during the earliest stage of psychosexual development, at the time when the individual's means of achieving security and release from tension was through stimulation of the oral cavity (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962: 21).

Cayapa infancy and childhood may be seen as classic examples of oral fixation derived from a traumatic blocking of normal psychosexual development. Drinking is also related to homosexuality. "Since the fixation at the oral stage is so early, in psychosexual development, the alcoholic has never achieved a genital level of differentiation and is so desirous of receiving love, he does not differentiate the sex of the provider" (Chafetz and Demone, Jr. 1962:41). Although no overt homosexuality is observed among the Cayapa, a great deal of

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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shaming, ridicule, the application of bitter tasting substances, or frightening the child with stories of cannibalistic ogres.7 Thus, within the psychoanalytic framework, the seeds of dependency drinking are sown and begin to develop.

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> . . . oral frustrations in the infant result in cannibalistic fantasies toward the mother's breast and her total person. Because the child projects its feelings and fantasies, it also views the external world as cannibalistic and develops fears of objects in it. This results in an unconscious fear of being devoured by the love object. The vagina, which is unconsciously equated with the mouth, comes to represent the castrating, devouring organ. Such anticipations result in avoidance of the heterosexual object . . . (Bieber 1962:6-7).

For the Cayapa, the equation of vagina:mouth is not at all unconscious. The vagina dentata motif is clearly present, and sexual intercourse is spoken of as the vagina eating the penis. As for cannibalistic fantasies, they still exist in the stories that the Cayapa tell of the wild Indians who lived in the area before them; these Indians were cannibals and preyed on the Cayapa. The fantasies are also used to manipulate events. When I first explored the Cayapa area up to the Río Tigre, I decided to do my work among the Cayapa of the San

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your vagina is delicious," but the matter is resolved differently for girls.

> . . . owing to the fact that a girl's 'graspiness' does not need to remain fixated in the mouth . . . . it can normally shift to the vagina and pass for genital behavior (Erickson 1950:80).

The sexual forwardness of the women [forward only in comparison with the backwardness of the males], is not true genital behavior but rather an expression of incorporative fixation, and is psychologically equivalent to the heavy dependency drinking of the Cayapa male. Cayapa women also drink and get drunk, but their drinking is only the palest reflection of the drinking behavior of the men; the psychological needs of the women, it is quite clear, are satisfied more genitally.

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Affiliative Behavior. Affiliative behavior is characteristic of many animal orders, and especially of the primate. On the human level, affiliative needs are intensified by the peculiarly human process of socialization, and the general dyadic patterns of 'Me-You,' 'Them-Us,' as learned behavior, becomes formed in the cultural expectancies that mark an individual's psycho-

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the writer. Similarly, attempts were made to establish intense interpersonal relations with the writer which were very brittle in nature. It would appear that the Cayapa were living in three different worlds and behaving quite differently in each one. The thread that runs through all of the behavior we have discussed from law, government, politics, sex, drinking and affiliative behavior, is high socialization anxiety leading to a very marked generalized fear of others. Whiting's and Child's statement comprehends the behavioral differences observed between Cayapa:Cayapa, Cayapa:Negro, and Cayapa:White.

> . . . anxiety acquired in childhood might be generalized to other people . . . because of their similarity to the persons responsible for the frustration and punishment of the child--their similarity, above all, to the child's parents (Whiting and Child 1962:267).

Clearly, those people having greatest similarity to a Cayapa's parents are other Cayapa--much more so than Negroes and Whites.

The neurotic conflicts that are engendered by the widespread inability to relate affiliatively among themselves is effectively resolved by avoidance or

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highly restrictive interpersonal involvements. When in their canoes, which pass each other quickly, they can easily and effectively avoid each other. Where they cannot pass by rapidly, as at the weeklong fiestas at the ceremonial centers, heavy drinking is required to get the law-jobs done, arrange the marriages, and to maintain a minimum of social integration and interaction. With the increase in social integration and interaction brought about by liberal amounts of alcohol, a new factor can be noticed. For some, latent homosexuality comes close to the surface in the form of homoeroticism. Young boys may be seen on the floor wrapped in each other's arms, and young men may be seen seated in the same hammock, facing each other, holding hands. It must be emphasized that this is not homosexual per se, but erotic in the sense of a transfer of libininal affect to another male. I have only witnessed this behavior at the fiestas. If the Cayapa have strong latent homosexual tendencies where the generalized fear of others may be seen "as a defense against sexual anxieties . . . against homosexual tendencies" (Whiting and Child 1962:269), why then do we not find it in its sexual

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just as I was leaving, with my canoe dangerously overloaded with Indians. He asked to go along. It was pointed out that there was absolutely no room, whereupon he suggested that I eject someone to make room for him. When this was refused, he went into a fit of pouting. Reverend Glenn, the missionary in the Sapallo Grande area, reports that Cayapa whom he consider to be friends, will come to the dispensary long after hours, or when there is a long line and demand to be taken first. The demand is always refused and pouting always follows.

Friendship in the western sense does not really exist in Cayapa life and culture, except in embryonic form. The complex of friendship that is offered to them by the surrounding population, more often than not, leaves the Indian either in debt, defrauded, and/or, as he believes, bewitched. This, coupled with the tenuous diminishing of the fear of others, leads to a dyadic relationship that requires constant testing and probing, that is neurotically destructive of the relationship itself. The strong committment to alcohol alleviates the fears of other people, the self-doubts, the personal and sexual inadequacies, the basic anxiety of Cayapa life.

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